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published record the lives of noble lords and ladies reduced to dire poverty, but showing, in their gallant efforts to maintain their sad position with dignity and gayety, the truth of the old French proverb *le bon sang ne peut mentir*. Of this character are the memoirs and the correspondence of Madame de Raigecourt, the Comte de Puymaigre, the Chevalier de Mautort, the Baron de Guilhermy, and the Comte de Neuilly. Of a different grade in society was Jean François Thoury, whose memoirs have just been edited by Charles Boj. Thoury was not a nobleman or an ecclesiastic, but no member of the privileged classes could have been more bitterly opposed to the Revolution than this humble bourgeois of Châlons-sur-Marne. In a subordinate official capacity at Châlons, he gave full evidence of his royalist proclivities, which, it may be remarked incidentally, separated him from his wife and his wife's family. He describes the passage of the royal family through Châlons on their return from Varennes in 1791 and also gives an interesting account of a mission on which he was sent by his municipality to the victorious general Dumouriez during the campaign of Valmy. But the gist of his memoirs is to be found in the thrilling narrative of his escape from prison during the Reign of Terror, of the perilous adventures through which he passed in order to escape from France, and of his first wanderings as an émigré in Holland and the Rhine country. Finding it impossible to obtain employment or means of subsistence in these parts, Thoury made his way to Russia, and the greater part of his memoirs is taken up with a record of his life as a tutor in the households of certain noble families in the province of Courland. Unlike other French émigrés, Thoury made no attempt to return to France after the Restoration of the Bourbons, though he paid a visit to Paris in 1803 to fetch his daughters. Russia became his second home; he spent the remainder of his days at Mittau in Courland; and he seems to have retained no trace of his French nationality except his easy mastery of the French language, which is abundantly shown in his readable and interesting *Mémoires*.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF THE WARS OF NAPOLEON.

Mémoires du Général Baron Roch Godart (1792-1815), publiés par J.-B. ANTOINE. (Paris: Ernest Flammarion. 1895. Pp. xxxvi, 371.)

Souvenirs de Guerre du Général Baron Pouget, publiés par MME. DE BOISDEFFRE, née POUGET. (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1895. Pp. vii, 323.)

Mémoires du Général Lejeune, publiés par M. GERMAIN BAPST. *De Valmy à Wagram*. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1895. Pp. xi, 416.) *En Prison et en Guerre, 1809-1814*. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1895. Pp. 348.)

Journal du Général Fantin des Odoards ; Étapes d'un Officier de la Grande Armée, 1800-1830. (Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1895. Pp. 514.)

THE publication of the memoirs of Marbot, and their astounding and well-deserved success, have undoubtedly done much to bring about the interest in the first Napoleon which has been so significant a feature of French literature during the past three or four years. French publishers have rivalled each other in their desire to bring before the public the military reminiscences of veterans of the *Grande Armée*, and several interesting personal records of war and adventure during the stirring days of the Empire, which had originally been written for family circulation only, have recently been published. But the popularity of Marbot's memoirs has spread beyond the limits of France and brought the Napoleonic craze with it. It has been found worth while to translate them into English, and the reading public of England and the United States seems to have been as fascinated with the tales of the bygone military glory of Napoleon's army as the people of France. Next to Marbot, the most successful memoir-writer on this period whose volumes have yet been published is General Thiébault, whose lengthy work loses some of the military dash of Marbot's story in its infinity of minute personal details, but conveys something of the same attractive portrayal of life in the French army, when the French army dazzled Europe with its brilliant successes. In their different degrees, and dealing with different spheres of action in some respects, but displaying many of the merits of Marbot and of Thiébault, are the memoirs of the four officers of Napoleon whose names stand at the head of this article.

It is interesting to examine the personal details of the lives and careers of Godart, Pouget, Lejeune, and Fantin des Odoards together, and to point out how in their very difference they all illustrate the military history of France in the days of Napoleon. They entered the army in very different ways, came from different parts of France, and rose to high rank after different fashions. Godart, the eldest of them, who was born in 1761, was the son of a poor cooper at Arras and spent eight years of his early life in the army of the *ancien régime*, rising to the rank of corporal. He had left the army and was working for the support of his family at Arras when the patriotic demand for volunteers for the defence of France in 1792 caused him once more to enter the military service. Since he was an old soldier and knew his drill, Godart was elected by his fellow-volunteers of the Pas-de-Calais to be commandant of the battalion, and it was in this capacity that he served in Belgium in 1792 and at the battle of Wattignies in 1793. The old soldier was something of a martinet and was by no means popular among the volunteers he commanded, while his low birth and want of education offended officers of higher birth or higher rank than himself. Nevertheless, he understood his business so well, that the 79th demi-brigade, afterwards the 79th Regiment, which he commanded after the amalgamation of the regulars, the national guards, and the volunteers in 1794, became a

model for bravery and good discipline. In the days of the Directory Godart served in Moreau's famous retreat in 1796, in Bonaparte's campaign in the Tyrol in 1797, and later in the Ionian Islands and in southern Italy, and he took part with his regiment in the military proceedings of the *coup d'état* of 18 Brumaire which placed Bonaparte in power. Pouget had a very different career. He was the son of a physician of Lorraine, an intimate friend of King Stanislas and the Prince de Craon, and was born at Craon in 1767. When national guards sprang into existence all over France, in 1789, at the commencement of the Revolution, young Pouget was chosen sergeant and then lieutenant of the local battalion of Craon. Two years later, when the country was declared in danger, his company volunteered for active service and he became captain in the fourth battalion of the Meurthe. In this capacity and on the staff he served in the famous campaigns of 1793 and 1794 with the army of the Moselle, but was removed from the service with many other officers, among them Napoleon Bonaparte, by the reforms of Aubry in 1795. After five years without employment, he re-entered the army in 1800 through the influence of General Lefebvre, whom he had known in the army of the Moselle, and was appointed major of the 62d Regiment in 1803 and colonel of the 26th in 1805. Lejeune was some years younger than Godart and Pouget and was born in 1775. His first campaign was that of Valmy in 1792, when he served with the company of Parisian students known as the "Compagnie des Arts." This company disbanded itself in 1793, but the young soldier soon volunteered for active service under the decree which called out all men between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. After serving on the staff, his talents caused him to be employed in the Engineers, and as a lieutenant in the scientific corps he served in the conquest of Holland and upon the Rhine. Since he had graduated in the field and not from the engineer school at Mezières, Lejeune was summoned to Paris during the Directory to pass a special examination in his professional acquirements. He passed the examination so brilliantly that he was made a captain in the Engineers and appointed aide-de-camp to Berthier, the famous chief of the staff of the Emperor Napoleon, and in this capacity he was present at the battle of Marengo and was the officer sent to hurry up the corps of Desaix, the arrival of which won that famous victory. Fantin des Odoards was born in 1778 at Embrun in the Basses-Alpes, and took no part in the wars of the Revolution or of the Directory. He entered the army as a sub-lieutenant of infantry in 1800, after the battle of Marengo, and obtained his captaincy in the 31st Regiment in 1805, the first year of the Empire, without seeing any active service.

Such were the varying paths by means of which the four officers, whose memoirs have just been published, made their way into the ranks of the *Grande Armée*. Their careers in the army of Napoleon, as might be expected, were influenced by their origin. Lejeune served upon the staff of Berthier for many years with increasing distinction, and as a staff-officer was employed in what may be called the higher branches of the profession.

Since Berthier was the chief of the staff and personal friend of the Emperor, Lejeune, of course, was often brought into contact with Napoleon himself, and he relates many anecdotes about his bearing and appearance at different important epochs. He did not leave Berthier's staff till the Russian campaign of 1812, when he was made, after the battle of Borodino, chief of the staff to Davout. He was chief of the staff to Oudinot during the earlier part of the campaign of 1813, and during the latter part commanded a brigade of infantry at Leipzig and at Hanau. Less brilliant to the imagination are the careers of Godart and of Pouget. While Lejeune has, like Marbot, good stories to tell of life on the staff and of personal intercourse with the Emperor, the former were occupied in doing their duty as colonels of regiments. Godart commanded the 79th, which he had formed in the days of the Revolution and which had grown up under him, so to speak, till 1809. At its head he did good, though rather too impetuous, service, at the battle of Caldiero in 1805, and after remaining with it in Dalmatia for more than three years, he marched with Marmont's corps to the aid of the Emperor when he was encamped in the island of Lobau in 1809. In the great battle of Wagram the 79th fought for the first time in one of the great battles of the Empire, and Godart found himself for the first time since 1797 under the immediate command of Napoleon. For his services at Wagram he was promoted general of brigade and made a baron of the Empire, but he never distinguished himself as a general officer. He commanded a brigade in Masséna's invasion of Portugal in 1810 and in the disastrous retreat from Torres Vedras, but when his old enemy, Marmont, who had refused to recommend him for promotion for his services in Dalmatia, and who regarded him with contempt as a low-bred and uneducated officer, took command in the Peninsula, Godart was speedily recalled. In the Russian campaign he acted for some months as Governor of Vilna, and in the campaign of 1813 he commanded a brigade under Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, and capitulated with that general at Dresden. Pouget, like Godart, was essentially a regimental officer. His regiment, the 26th, distinguished itself in many battles, notably the battle of Eylau, when his services were recognized by his being made a baron of the Empire. He had part of his left foot shot off at the battle of Aspern or Essling in 1809, and was then promoted general of brigade. In the Russian campaign of 1812 he commanded a brigade in the corps of Oudinot, but was left behind in the advance on Moscow as Governor of Vitebsk, and was at the time of the French retreat made prisoner by the Russians. Fantin des Odoards was a younger man, and it was not until after he had been present as a captain in the 31st Regiment at Austerlitz, at Friedland, and in Spain that he received promotion in 1810 by being appointed to the command of a company in the Old Guard. While in Russia he was promoted major; in the campaign of 1813 he commanded first the 17th and afterwards the 25th regiment, and after escaping the surrender of Vandamme's corps at Kulm, he had to capitulate with Gouvion-Saint-Cyr at Dresden. Fantin des Odoards alone of the four was actively engaged in the brief campaign of 1815, when he commanded

the 22d Regiment, which belonged to Vandamme's corps, at Ligny and at Wavre. He alone of the four, also, saw active service after the Empire was at an end; for he commanded a regiment in the invasion of Spain in 1823, and then won his promotion to the rank of a general officer. It may be interesting to note for the use of students of the wars of the Empire that Lejeune, Pouget, and Fantin were present at the battle of Austerlitz, Lejeune at Jena, Pouget and Lejeune at Eylau, Fantin and Lejeune at Friedland, Pouget and Lejeune at Aspern, and Godart and Lejeune at Wagram. Godart, Lejeune, and Fantin served in Spain during the Peninsular War, the first as a general of brigade under Masséna in 1810-1811, the second as commanding engineer at the siege of Saragossa and afterwards on a special mission during which he was made prisoner by the Spanish guerillas, and the third in the campaign of Corunna, Soult's occupation of and defeat at Oporto, and at the battle of Talavera. All four saw something of the Russian campaign of 1812, though Godart and Pouget were left behind as provincial governors and never entered Moscow. Godart, Lejeune, and Fantin served in the Saxon campaign of 1813, but since the first and third were made prisoners at Dresden and the second was severely wounded before re-entering France, none of them took part in the famous defensive campaign of 1814. It is also perhaps worth noting that all four were several times wounded more or less severely, and that all four were at different times taken prisoner by the enemy, Pouget by the Russians, Godart and Fantin by the Austrians, and Lejeune by the Spaniards, who handed him over to their allies, the English.

It remains to be added that of the four books Lejeune's is by far the best written. In vivacity of style, Lejeune sometimes almost reaches the level of Marbot, and the story, for instance, of his captivity in Spain with its hourly peril of instant execution is both thrilling of itself and admirably related. As material for history, however, the most valuable record is that of Godart on account of the new light it throws on Marmont's operations in Dalmatia, and on the conduct of Masséna's invasion of Portugal. It is further illustrated with most valuable notes by M. J.-B. Antoine, throwing great light on such obscure points as regimental organization under the Directory. The journal of Fantin des Odoards has its main interest in the fact that it was regularly written up day by day or week by week, and contains, therefore, a veritable picture of the daily life of an officer in the *Grande Armée*. His account of the retreat from Russia, however, was written up some months after he had passed through those weeks of horror, but it is none the less a graphic and powerful narrative. Pouget's *Souvenirs* are charmingly written as a record for his children of what he had seen and suffered, but his opportunities for seeing were not so great as those of Lejeune and his book is proportionately of less interest and value. It may be said in conclusion that if the Napoleonic craze is going to produce many more volumes of personal recollections like those of Marbot, Thiébault, and the four officers whose names have been so repeatedly mentioned in this article, it is to be hoped that it may continue a little longer before giving

way to some other fashionable craze that may not provide equally valuable and interesting narratives for the use of the historical student and the delight of the general reader.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

Histoire du Second Empire. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE. (Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1895. Two vols., pp. vii, 493, 458.)

As we draw farther and farther away from the events of the period from 1850 to 1870, it may well be expected that renewed attempts will be made to review these events from the standpoint of the historian rather than of the politician ; that scholars will arise competent to discuss men and movements without prejudice and without passion, and to utilize the ever-increasing mass of letters, official documents, memoirs, and special monographs that are each year in course of publication. Thus work will be produced acceptable to the readers and critics of our generation, who, strangers to partisanship and in sympathy with the canons of modern historical research, desire to know accurately the meaning of that important period and the part which its statesmen have played for good or for evil in creating the political situation as we see it to-day. What Mr. Rhodes is doing for this country, and what Sybel—with full allowance for his national liberal sympathies—has done for Germany, M. Pierre de la Gorce is doing for France.

M. de la Gorce is to be classed with the members of the modern school of French historians,—Monod, Aulard, Babeau, Sorel, Rambaud, Langlois, Bémont, and others,—who, in one field or another, are doing the best historical work in France to-day. Already well known as the author of an admirable history of the Second Republic,¹ he has brought to his task the qualities of a trained scholar, who has made his vocation neither politics nor literature, but history ; and, while recognizing that his material is inadequate for a final treatment of his subject, has endeavored to relate faithfully and conscientiously the history of the Second Empire as the accessible documentary evidence presents it to him. Although his work is based to a large extent upon published material, it is evident that access to private sources of information has, in many instances, enabled the author to make clear many important points hitherto obscure.

In these volumes M. de la Gorce treats of the period from January 1, 1852, to May, 1859, when Napoleon III. announced to the French people the fact that war existed between France and Austria. He writes of those first years,—*les années heureuses*,—when the Napoleonic government, in fancied security, gave little thought to indications of eventual failure,—indications bound to appear in the history of a régime indifferent to all those political problems that had been uppermost in France since the French Revolution. M. de la Gorce opens his subject with a discussion of the *coup d'état*, and traces the policy of Louis Napoleon as dictator of the

¹ *Histoire de la Seconde République Française.* Two vols. 1887.